

CLAUDE DE L'ESTOILLE

POET AND DRAMATIST

1597-1652

BY

RICHARD ALEXANDER PARKER

A Portion of a

DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Board of University Studies of
The Johns Hopkins University in Conformity
With Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Reprinted in part from Volume XVI of The Johns Hopkins Studies in
Romance Literatures and Languages

BALTIMORE

1930

CLAUDE DE L'ESTOILLE
POET AND DRAMATIST
1597-1652

BY
RICHARD ALEXANDER PARKER

A Portion of a
DISSERTATION
Submitted to the Board of University Studies of
The Johns Hopkins University in Conformity
With Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Reprinted in part from Volume XVI of The Johns Hopkins Studies in
Romance Literatures and Languages

BALTIMORE
1930



TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
Introduction	ix
I. Life	I
II. Lyric and Occasional Verse.....	26
III. Ballets	38
IV. The Literary Partnership of the "Five Authors".....	51
V. <i>La Belle Esclave</i> , Tragi-Comédie.....	66
VI. <i>L'Intrigue des Filous</i> , Comédie.....	84
VII. Conclusion	97
Appendix A: Works of Claude de L'Estoille.....	102
Appendix B: Bibliography.....	103
Vita	109



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/IA41553628_0003

INTRODUCTION

In the general investigation and revaluation which seventeenth century writers have undergone of late, Claude de L'Estoille has been neglected. Yet the man has some importance in the literary history of the period. In the field of the ballet, he was second only to Bordier, the official ballet-writer of Louis XIII. L'Estoille was one of the principal collaborators in what was probably the most elaborate and successful of the ballets given under the reign of Louis XIII.¹ As a poet, he was among those whose verses helped swell the numerous collections which were the fashion of the day. In fact, he was chosen to write the dedicatory poem to the most important *recueil* published in the first half of the century.² Saint-Amant, moreover, classifies him with Corneille, Colletet, and Baro as upholders of the literary glory of France.³ And the famous Ménage plagiarized his poetry with open effrontery.⁴

L'Estoille's connection with the original members of the Academy gives him the honorable stamp of official recognition. Further fame was his as a collaborator in the three plays which, originally planned by Cardinal Richelieu, were versified by the so-called *Cinq Auteurs*: Corneille, Rotrou, Colletet, Boisrobert, and L'Estoille. As a playwright, he has left two plays which had some vogue in their day. *La Belle Esclave* is interesting as an example of the later type of tragi-comedy; while *L'Intrigue des filous*⁵ is one of the early comedies of manners, a *genre* destined to reach its apogee in the plays of Molière. And finally, as an eccentric and extravagant character, he left a remarkable impression upon his contemporaries.

There has not yet been made a complete study of L'Estoille. Fournier, when he published *L'Intrigue des filous* in his *Théâtre*

¹ *Le Ballet du grand bal de la Douairière de Billebahaut*, 1626.

² *Le Recueil de 1627*.

³ *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1855, II, 462.

⁴ *Ménagiana*, Paris, 1693, p. 380.

⁵ So well known were the characters of this play that several were introduced into the *Boutade des Comédiens*, a ballet reproduced by Lacroix, *Ballets et mascarades de cour*, Geneva, 1868, VI, 161-176.

français au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle, prefixed a life of the poet, which is probably the most complete in existence up to the present. Yet his is a mere sketch, consisting of only a few pages, containing various errors of detail, and neglecting completely important phases of the poet's career. L'Estoille's work as a ballet-writer has received some passing attention from l'abbé Marolles, Bapst, and Prunières.⁶ The productions of the Five Authors, always something of a mystery, have been studied at length by Batiffol, Bizos, Chardon, Collas, Lacour, and Person. Fournel and Lintilhac give him the best treatment as a playwright. Fabre has described to a slight extent the poet's relationship with the Academy. Though these references to L'Estoille are usually only incidental to other studies, in addition to the essential information and criticism brought to light, they show the numerous and varied activities of the poet. Of contemporary accounts of the poet, those of Pellisson and Tallemant des Réaux are by far the most important.⁷ The eighteenth century historians and critics, in most cases, merely quote the words of these annalists.

The essential task of the present study, then, was to assemble, classify, and sift the heterogeneous material in regard to the poet, whose activities touched upon so many different fields, though never with enduring distinction upon any one; to make a critical study and analysis of his works in order to show their proper place in the evolution of seventeenth century literature; and, aided by the leaven of subsequent criticism, to evaluate the poet's entire literary production.⁸

⁶ See Bibliography for titles of works in question.

⁷ For L'Estoille's childhood and family, the journals of his father, Pierre de L'Estoile, contain some highly important information.

⁸ The author here wishes to express his gratitude for the invaluable aid which was given him by Professor Henry Carrington Lancaster. Whatever the merit of the work may be, its successful completion is due to his scholarly advice and unflinching inspiration. The writer is also indebted to Professor L. Piaget Shanks, of The Johns Hopkins University, for several suggestions as to style and to Professor H. C. Heaton, of New York University, who very carefully read the proof.

I. LIFE

Claude de L'Estoile, sieur de Saussay et de la Boissinière, was born of an ancient and distinguished French family. Originally from Orléans, the family had been prominent for several generations previous among the *noblesse de robe* at Paris. The first important member of the family of whom we have any record is Pierre Taisan de L'Estoile (1480-1537), the great-grandfather of Claude, who, having achieved some distinction as *docteur professeur ès droits* in the university of Orléans, established himself permanently in Paris following his appointment (1535) by François I as *président aux enquêtes du parlement de Paris*.¹ At Orléans he had counted Calvin among his pupils and Théodore de Bèze among his friends.² His son, Louis de L'Estoile, continuing the family tradition, became *Président aux requêtes du palais*.³ He is also described as *grand rapporteur de France*.⁴ This Louis de L'Estoile, the grandfather of Claude, married Marguerite de Montholon, who was a daughter of François de Montholon, *avocat au parlement de Paris* and *garde des sceaux de France*.⁵ The only son of this union was Pierre de L'Estoile, the father of Claude, born at Paris in 1546.

Pierre de L'Estoile's fame as the author of the invaluable *Mémoires-Journaux* has somewhat obscured the posthumous reputation of his son, Claude, though the latter undoubtedly enjoyed during his life-time a far greater repute. Through the medium of this journal, Pierre has left us the picture of a striking personality, which, operating upon the formative years of his son's life, must have profoundly affected the bent of the budding poet. A study of the life and personality of the father, therefore, is a necessary preliminary to an understanding of the poet.

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale, Dossiers bleus, 392, no. 10596, fol. 6.

² *Mémoires-Journaux de Pierre de l'Estoile*, Paris, Alph. Lemerre, 1896, 12 vol. in-8, XII, page xxx.

³ Jal, *Dictionnaire critique de biographie et d'histoire*, Paris, 1867, p. 779. This first office is given in a receipt of the year 1591.

⁴ B. N., Dossiers bleus, *loc. cit.*

⁵ B. N., Dossiers bleus, *loc. cit.*

As we should naturally expect, Pierre followed his distinguished father and grandfathers in the legal profession.⁶ He studied law at Bourges, where he came under an anti-catholic influence, which helped form his hatred of the League and his opposition to many of the practices of the Roman church. However, he never gave up his faith in the Catholic church but rather wished a well-planned reform. In 1569, he married Anne de Baillon, daughter of Jean Baillon, baron de Bruyères-Châtel, *trésorier de l'épargne*. He had by this marriage one son and six daughters. About the same time as his marriage, he bought the office of *conseiller et secrétaire du Roi et grand audientier en la chancellerie de France*, the revenue from which constituted the greater part of his income. On September 4, 1580, he tells us that "mourust heureusement en Nostre Seingneur, sage et vertueuse damoiselle Anne de Baillon".⁷ Upon this event Pierre's grief was expressed by three sonnets which pay tribute to the virtue and beauty of his wife. The poems are rather commonplace in thought and style and are lacking in imagination, but they have at least the merit of sincerity. The first sonnet is the best, of which I cite the second quatrain as an example of the father's poetic ability:

Tout ce que peut nature à orner une femme,
L'avoit dessus son front couché de son pinceau,
Et en nous envoiant ce chef-d'œuvre nouveau,
Anima ce beau corps d'une plus belle flamme.⁸

At any rate, the father possessed some poetic impulse of a sort, though it was submerged by other stronger interests.

⁶ The source for most of the material in this sketch of Pierre de L'Estoile is contained in his own *Registre-journal d'un curieux*, etc., pendant le règne de Henri III, and in his *Mémoires et Journal depuis la mort d'Henri III jusqu'en 1611*, published in the *Nouvelle Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, edited by Michaud and Poujoulat, Paris, 1881, volumes 14 and 15, respectively. The notice on the life of L'Estoile by M. Moreau prefixed to the second of these volumes has been supplemented by that in vol. XII of the *Mémoires-Journaux de Pierre de l'Estoile*, publié par Brunet, Champollion, Halphen, Paul Lacroix, Charles Read, Tamizey de Larroque, Tricotel, Paris, 1896.

⁷ *Registre-journal*, p. 126.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 127. The only other poetic effort that we have of the elder L'Estoile are eight lines entitled "Le Soufflet de la vie humaine", containing an intricate comparison between life and a smithy. It shows subtlety rather than poetic inspiration. Cf. *loc. cit.*, note 1.

Less than two years after the death of Anne de Baillon, Pierre de L'Estoile married Colombe Marteau, January 2, 1582. Of this marriage there were six sons and four daughters, the eighth child being Claude. Overwhelmed by such an enormous progeny (thirteen of his seventeen children survived infancy), Pierre de L'Estoile was increasingly poor throughout his life. He was almost wholly dependent upon the small income from his office, for the ancestral property in Orléans, on account of the wars, yielded returns only at rare intervals. Upon one occasion, indeed, by posing as a M. Bellemanière, he was able to enjoy a part of the revenue from his estates in Orléans.⁹ Moreover, his small income, diminished by the misfortunes of war, was subject to such strains as the ransoming of his wife, paying for expensive passports, and prosecuting of a lengthy lawsuit. To this we must add his insatiable urge to collect rare books and manuscripts, pamphlets (and they were numerous during these troubled times), medals, coins, and pictures: his journals are full of descriptions of his finds as a connoisseur of the curious. His cabinet must have been a veritable treasure-trove, for he relates pridefully the many visits of important foreigners to examine his collections. To be poor and to possess such a passion was a calamity, indeed. In order to realize some ready money, he disposed of his office in 1601, though a lawsuit was necessary to secure all the money due him. Often under the pinch of poverty, he was forced to sell some objects of his collection, sometimes at much less than their cost to him. The next day, however, he was buying more of those enticing *fadèzes*.¹⁰

Toward the end of his life, his complaints became frequent against poverty, bad health, and unkind fate. Less than a year before he died, he philosophized thus upon his hard lot:

Moi-mesme qui écris ceci, quand je considère bien l'ennui et peine qu'une grande famille donne à un homme comme moy, l'incommodité d'une femme, les pénibles pensées à cause des enfans, les nécessités de la maison pour les pourvoir, le peu d'affection des parens, les maladies et la

⁹ Cf. *Mémoires-journal*, p. 96.

¹⁰ An example of the extremes to which this passion carried L'Estoile may be had from the following incident. A *frère minime* had composed the funeral oration of a demoiselle Aurillot. "J'en tirai une de la pochette d'une bigotte de la Ligue, n'étant possible d'en recouvrer autrement, pource qu'Acarie, le maître des comptes, qu'on appelloit à Paris *le laquais de la Ligue*, en avoit retiré toutes les copies et n'en faisoit distribuer qu'à ceux qu'il savoit être bien avant de l'Union." Cited by Moreau, *op. cit.*, p. v.

vieillesse, avec la froideur des amis (car tout cela se trouvera en la mienne); si je ne me repens d'estre ici si long-temps, au moins me trouvay-je si lassé de ce chemin, que je n'en puis tantost plus.¹¹

It is a long list of grievances against his fortune, and the complaint was oft repeated towards the end. However, much of this querulous spirit must be attributed to his advancing years. Early in October, 1611, his sorrows came to an end; and on the eighth, he was buried in the church of "St.-André deuant la chapelle Nostre-Dame".¹²

Essentially a spectator in the tremendous drama of political change occurring in that period, his highly critical turn, and perhaps his caution, made it impossible for Pierre de L'Estoile to be an ardent partisan either of the League or of the King. As might be expected from such an attitude, he was a suspicious person to both parties; so much so, that he once suffered the indignity and fright of having his house searched, followed afterwards by imprisonment for a short while in the Conciergerie. Upon another occasion, he had the temerity to copy and distribute pamphlets against the League. It is evident, however, that he was not a party man: he was not a man of action. Rather, and this is important in the formation of a writer, he had a critical and inquiring mind, which was content to observe passively and search into the causes of events instead of participating in them. This passive type of reaction to stimuli, which is the ordinary mark of a scholar, must have made itself felt in the formation of the literary inclination of the youthful Claude.

Another phase of the character of the elder L'Estoile must have been felt in the family life: I mean his great interest in literature and books. Pierre de L'Estoile was, to be sure, a collector, but not merely for the sake of collecting. He annotated his books, made abstracts of his pamphlets, analysed the sermons that he heard or read, and embodied his impressions in his precious journal. His familiarity with Greek, Latin, Italian, and Spanish at a time when translations were rare provided him with the instruments to satisfy a far-ranging intellectual curiosity. Though he calls Montaigne his *vade mecum*,¹³ his accounts

¹¹ Cf. *Mémoires-journal*, p. 647.

¹² Cf. Jal, *op. cit.*, p. 780.

¹³ *Registre-journal*, p. 1. He later applied this term to another book; see below, p. 6.

of many trials of witches and his gullible recording of prodigies, both human and natural, are not tinged with the slightest scepticism. Nevertheless, merely to be surrounded with the array of books which constituted the cabinet of his father must have been a powerful stimulus to Claude's intellectual development.¹⁴

The journalist's interests, however, were not exclusively of the bookish sort. He had a very lively interest in the drama of life, which was being enacted daily about him in the most colorful fashion. M. Moreau thus summarizes his insatiate inquisitiveness:

Il était sans cesse à l'affût de tout ce qui se disait, s'écrivait ou se faisait, interrogeant tout le monde, assistant avec beaucoup de régularité aux sermons des prédicateurs de la Ligue, suivant les cérémonies publiques, courant les rues aux jours d'excitation et de tumulte, pour saisir l'expression des sentiments et des passions populaires. Dès qu'un fait quelconque, une exécution par exemple ou un assassinat, parvenait à sa connaissance, il allait aussitôt le vérifier sur les lieux.¹⁵

Never was such a boundless curiosity given play in such eventful times. Reared, as he was, with this example before him, and constantly hearing the stirring tales of the religious wars related by actual observers, what is more natural than for Claude to take the next step, and, in more peaceful times, fashion dramas after his own imaginings?

Though apparently playing a less important rôle in his life than his journal and his collection, the father's vocation, it must be called to mind, was that of a lawyer, a profession in which the family had been represented with distinction during four generations. That Claude absorbed some of this legal atmosphere is evinced by the skill with which he handles the scene of the Queen's indictment of Haly in *La Belle Esclave* (V, 3, 4). And how else shall we explain the intimate knowledge of the underworld of seventeenth century Paris displayed in his *Intrigue des filous*?

A predominating instinct with Pierre de L'Estoile, as, indeed, with most men of his generation, was his religious devotion. A list of books which he took with him on a short visit to his house

¹⁴ The father's interest in the intellectual progress of his children is shown by such an entry as this: "J'ai presté à mon fils (et croi à jamais rendre) ung Ethique d'Aristote, græque et latine . . . pour la lire et estudier à ces vacations avec M. Duranti." *Mémoires-journal*, p. 402.

¹⁵ *Mémoires-journal*, p. v.

at Gland strikingly reveals the importance that religion played in his mental life.¹⁶ This list is, with few exceptions, made up of books on theological or religious subjects. The exceptions are illuminating: a *Horace*, *La Maison rustique* of Estienne, and the *livre d'estude et de plaisir* called *Horae succisivae Camerarii*. In short, his intellectual interests were divided between religion and poetry, with emphasis upon religion. It had not always been thus: Montaigne at one time was his *vade mecum*, not *Aquae vitae de fontibus Sinippennigii*. However, the cast of his mind at the period of Claude's childhood and adolescence is probably roughly mirrored by the literary taste displayed in the choice of these books. This preoccupation with religion finds its reflection in Claude de L'Etoile's *La Belle Esclave*, where it is fairly patent that the dramatist is endeavoring to disprove the materialistic doctrine of the non-existence of Providence.

Another conditioning element in the early life of Claude was the poverty of his father. Continually pressed as he was by lack of money, it was impossible for him to give his son the education which he would have wished. Pellisson says of the poet that "il avoit plus de génie que d'étude et de savoir",¹⁷ which

¹⁶ *Registre-journal*, p. 405. I give this list in full, since it illustrates better than any other way the personality of the elder L'Etoile and thus indirectly defines the environment of Claude. "Une Bible in-4 de Lyon, qui est le livre des livres, et qu'il faut toujours faire marcher le premier. Le Bénédicte de Jésus-Christ; Prières sur Job, d'Obéri; Prières de D. Toussaints; autres sur la vie et la mort, écrites à la main, la plus part de ma façon. Discours de la vie et de la mort de M. Duplessis, avec les Méditations de Savonarole, et un dialogue de la vie et de la mort de Louveau. La Semaine de Du Bartas; un petit Horace; la Maison rustique de Charles Estienne (livre propre pour les champs). *Horae succisivae Camerarii* (livre d'estude et de plaisir). Le livre de Lespine, de la Providence de Dieu; avec un *Aquae vitae de fontibus Sinippennigii*, que j'appelle mon *vade mecum*. Deux de mes livres écrits à la main: l'un meslé de bon et de mauvais, l'autre inscript *Drolleries de la Ligue*, marqué A, avec un livre de papier blanc pour transcrire tout plain de choses curieuses qui sont dans un livre que j'y porte avec quelques papiers." This list, however, should not be taken as indicative of the normal reading matter of L'Etoile père. We must remember, as he himself probably did, that he was getting old, and that there was a plague in Paris, sufficient reasons to divert the ordinary man to a more lively consideration of his spiritual welfare.

¹⁷ Pellisson et d'Olivet, *Histoire de l'Académie française*, 2 vol. Paris, 1858, I, 246. Tallemant des Réaux confirms this: "Il a pourtant bien à dire, et il ne sçavoit presque rien." Cf. *Les Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux*, Paris, 1856, V, 90.

we may readily attribute to his father's inability to provide for him an education commensurate with his genius. Nevertheless, life in his father's house must have been a not inadequate training for his own later life of poverty.

On the whole, the heritage which was Claude de L'Estoille's was one which must have urged him towards a literary career, the only vocation he ever followed.¹⁸ Given a father, who, besides having a legal learning, was incessantly urged on by an uncontrollable *cacoëthes scribendi*, who manifested more than a collector's appreciation of literature and of books, who experienced an almost morbid interest in the stirring pageant of events which passed over the picturesque stage of Paris, a man who withal was imbued with a strong religious faith, so touched with the spirit of reform that he was never to reconcile himself completely with either of the existing churches: given a father of such a character, we should not be surprised to find a budding poet in the family, particularly when a great misfortune in childhood came to lend a final impulse in this direction.

Aside from the general atmosphere of the home, little is known of the childhood of Claude de L'Estoille.¹⁹ Born at Paris shortly before September 13, 1597,²⁰ he spent all except the latter part of his life in that city. However, we have record of at least one short sojourn that the whole family passed at Gland, an estate which the father had near Château-Thierry.

¹⁸ Cf. Pellisson et d'Olivet, *op. cit.*, I, 246: "Il n'eut point d'autre emploi que celui des belles-lettres et de la poésie, où il se rendit très-célèbre."

¹⁹ In all the works of Claude, his family name is spelled with two l's, whereas Pierre used the single l. The question of pronunciation arises. To show that the pronunciation of the family name was the same as the word *étoile*—*star*, we may adduce: 1. Pierre in his last will and testament translated his name into Latin as Petrus Stella; cf. *Mémoires-journal*, p. 476. 2. The son also associated his name with the star as is shown by his accusing publishers of printing stars on volumes of verse in order to induce the public to believe the poetry was by L'Estoille; cf. preface to *L'Intrigue des filous*. But the word *étoile* is not listed by Thurot, *De la Prononciation française*, Paris, 1881, II, 320 *et seq.*, among the words in which the s, subsequently silent, was sounded during the 16th century or later. Moreover, Thurot, *op. cit.*, I, 39, cites Behourt, *Alphabets françoys, latin et grec*, Rouen, 1620, as saying that "pour faire sonner l'e masculin, on met vulgairement vn s au lieu d'vn accent aigu, comme meschant, estincelle, estroit".

²⁰ He was baptized on this date; cf. Jal, *op. cit.*, p. 780.

An epidemic was in progress in Paris during the latter part of 1606, so general that the sick were unable to be cared for. Queen Marguerite herself, abandoned by her suite, was constrained to leave the city following the death of several officers in her household. Fortified by his favorite books, which he must have chosen with the care of one about to set out for a desert isle, Pierre de L'Estoile left Paris, Friday, September 22, 1606.²¹ If the nine-year-old Claude was stimulated by his contact with nature upon this or any other similar occasion, the fact finds no expression in his poetry, which is almost bare of natural imagery. Pellisson, however, influenced by a letter addressed to Claude de L'Estoile by du Pelletier, claims that he had a great love of flowers.²² The stay at Gland was short, for on the seventh of November we find the party journeying by coach to Paris amid a torrential thunder-storm, during which the family was left in grave danger by the desertion of the coachman to save a runaway horse and rider.²³

In 1608, the L'Estoile family was beset with illness, happily warded off notwithstanding the barbaric medical practice of the day. The father thankfully records, April, 1608, after mention of many deaths from measles, "mon fils aiant été saigné deux fois, ventouzé et deschiqueté contre mon opinion, en guarist par la grâce de Dieu".²⁴ This may have been Claude. In June of the same year, he tells us that four of his children had been ill in the preceding month, though Claude was not among them.

Despite his poverty, the father was able to obtain at least one tutor for the instruction of Claude, a certain Michel Fovet. We may judge of the character of this instruction when we learn that the teacher received no remuneration other than his living. Even so, the elder L'Estoile, harassed by poverty, was loath to admit another to his crowded board. He was finally persuaded, however, to accept the young man: "meu de la modestie du personnage, qui sçait bien escrire et chanter, avec quelque autre considération, je me suis laissé aller au conseil qu'on m'en a donné, et à l'envie que je voiiôis qu'il en avoit".²⁵ It is to be

²¹ *Mémoires-journal*, p. 405.

²² Cf. *op. cit.*, I, 248.

²³ *Mémoires-journal*, p. 407.

²⁴ *Mémoires-journal*, p. 458.

²⁵ *Mémoires-journal*, p. 557.

hoped that the boy's curriculum was amplified beyond the writing and singing professed by Michel Fovet.

It is evident that the father was hard pressed to place his children advantageously. The eldest brother, Pierre de L'Estoile, had been chosen to continue the family tradition in the law.²⁶ The second son, Mathieu, took orders,²⁷ though his death at the early age of twenty-five prevented his advancing very far. The father intended François, the third son, for finance, but was unsuccessful in getting him a desirable position in this profession. He later became secretary to Alphonse Du Plessis de Richelieu, cardinal de Lyon, brother to the famous cardinal, minister to Louis XIII.²⁸ Of Benjamin and Hiérosme, the other two sons of the second marriage, we know nothing. The only son of Pierre de L'Estoile's first marriage, Louis, entered the army and was killed at the siege of Dourlens, 1595. Claude, whom his father considered the handsomest and cleverest of all his children, was intended for a loftier career. Possibly through the instrumentality of a cousin, de la Guierche, "lequel gouverne toute ceste maison de Montpensier et Joieuse par son crédit",²⁹ he was to begin as a page to Mademoiselle de Montpensier.³⁰ With such training and such connections as he would have in this famous family, a brilliant future was assured for Claude.

All these hopes were shattered by an untoward accident at the close of 1610—an accident which reshaped the entire existence of Claude, turning him aside from a vapid courtier's life and launching him on a literary career. While bending over a chest in his father's closet, with a lighted candle in his hand, the boy set fire to his ruff, which was completely burned. The flames enveloped his neck, chin, and ears, and were mounting to his eyes when he had the presence of mind, young as he was, to

²⁶ Pierre, senior, enters in his journal with some gusto the first case pleaded by this eldest son by his second wife. Cf. *Mémoires-journal*, p. 491.

²⁷ At his death, 1614, he was described as *bachelier en théologie*. Cf. Jal, *op. cit.*, p. 780.

²⁸ *Mémoires-journaux*, edition 1896, vol. 12, p. xxxiv.

²⁹ *Mémoires-journal*, edition 1881, p. 513.

³⁰ Probably Henriette-Catherine de Joyeuse, daughter of Henri, duc de Joyeuse, *maréchal de France*. She married Henri de Bourbon, duc de Montpensier.

unlock the closet door, which had closed upon him. The family, who were seated at supper, rushed in to help, though it was seven or eight minutes before the flames were extinguished.³¹ A physician and a surgeon summoned immediately rendered all the aid they could, but after six months of treatment they accomplished no more than " beaucoup de femmes, et mesme de village, eussent fait en six jours ".³² The terrible scars left on his face by these burns remained with him the rest of his life. Pellisson, who was himself notorious for his ill-favoredness, dwells at some length upon the lack of comeliness of the poet.³³ And Tallemant des Réaux confirms this description of the Academy chronicler: "A la verité, c'estoit un visage extravagant et difforme tout ensemble." ³⁴ Gone now were the fond hopes of the father: the boy's career as a page was abandoned before it was begun, for comeliness and grace are the prime requisites of a noblewoman's page.

But the psychological effects upon the adolescent boy and the later young man must have been far-reaching. Throughout his life, L'Estoille was afflicted with a shyness and awkwardness, accentuated by his fantastic mannerisms, which very probably were set up subconsciously as protective or compensatory devices. Years later, in 1647, when his *Intrigue des filous* was being applauded at Fontainebleau, L'Estoille's diffidence prevented his being there present and enjoying a well-earned triumph from royal hands. In the letter of M. Ballesdens prefixed to the first edition of the play, we see this writer's perplexity at the poet's absenting himself from the court upon an occasion so glorious to him.

Mais sans doute il vous suffit de meriter des Couronnes: et par vn excez d'humilité qui n'a point d'exemple, vous auez voulu éuiter l'occasion d'en recevoir vne de ces mains royales, qui les distribuent à ceux qui sçauent regner comme vous sur les esprits. Je ne croyois pas iusques à present qu'il y eust de Philosophie si seuer, que de vous obliger à fuyr tant d'honneur avec tant d'indifference; ny d'Autheur si humble ou si delicat, que de s'absenter comme vous de la plus belle Cour de l'Europe,

³¹ " Nous entrasmes tout à point pour le secourir, mais non si tost qu'il ne bruslast pour le moins demi quart d'heure avant que pouvoir esteindre le feu." *Mémoires-journal*, p. 646.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 647.

³³ *Op. cit.*, I, 248.

³⁴ *Les Historiettes*, V, 88, *ad notam*.

de crainte d'estre incommodé de ce battement de mains, dont le bruit, quelque grand qu'il soit, charme tousiours le cœur et les oreilles des autres. Mais si les grandes assemblees vous sont importunes. . . .⁸⁵

How else shall we explain such a strange absence if not by the diffidence caused by his fantastic appearance?

Moreover, his inordinate jealousy of his wife, as described by Tallemant, is, in part at least, to be attributed to this (to make use of an expression only too common in pseudo-psychological circles) absurd inferiority complex.

But to it also we owe his poetry. Disdained by the fair sex, he sought an outlet and consolation in his verse: not finding a favorable environment in life, owing to his sensitiveness to his bizarre appearance, he sought an esthetic escape in literature. It may seem that it is an unjustified deduction to assign such a slight cause as a motivating impulse to a literary career, but poets are made thus.

L'Estoille's poems, when they contain any personal allusion, are full of complaints against the scorn of some fair one: "Cesseez d'estre si cruelle", he implores,

Ne croyez point qu'il soit possible
Que mon cœur soit en feu, quand le vostre est glacé,

and one feels a real sincerity which no hackneyed poetical mode can altogether conceal. He is most sensitive to scorn:

Ie fuy les beautez plus divines
Quand le moindre mespris est parmy leurs appas:
Mesme à cause de leurs espines,
Les roses ne me plaisent pas.⁸⁶

In the meanwhile, L'Estoille had been achieving distinction as a writer of ballets. Nearly one-third of the verse contributed by him to the collections of 1627 and 1630 are excerpted from ballets written by the poet in 1626 and 1627. The first ballet in which we know he participated is the *Grand Bal de la Douairière de Billebahaut*, danced by the King in 1626, first at the Louvre, and soon after at the *Hôtel de Ville*. Though Bordier is listed as the author of this ballet, the poet Imbert contributed more verses than he; and L'Estoille supplied nearly one-

⁸⁵ *Lettre de M. Balleldens à M. De Lestoille*, prefixed to L'Estoille's *L'Intrigue des filous*, Paris, Antoine de Sommaville, 1648.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Recueil des plus beaux vers de Messieurs de Malherbe*, etc., Paris, Toussaint du Bray, 1630, p. 885.

fourth of the total number. His verses are characterized by a droll and paradoxical form of wit which was highly suitable to the extravagant spirit of the ballet. The *Douairière* was well received, and L'Estoille, before the end of the year, had written the verse for the *Ballet du Naufrage heureux*,³⁷ which was danced at the Louvre in the presence of the King. Following this appeared some *Vers sur le Sujet du Ballet du Roi*, by L'Estoille. The King's ballet in question was Bordier's *Le Sérieux et le grotesque*, danced by the King at the Louvre and at the *Hôtel de Ville*. These verses of L'Estoille were not published with the original ballet and were wholly unsolicited by the poet Bordier. Another ballet, *Le Balet des Fols aux Dames*, has been ascribed,³⁸ probably correctly, to L'Estoille. In all, the poet is known to have written or collaborated in four ballets, which were produced during the two years 1626 and 1627.

The next literary production in which L'Estoille was concerned was a collaboration with the so-called *Cinq Auteurs*, who are supposed to have fashioned dramas out of plans drafted by Cardinal Richelieu. The first play so constructed was *La Comédie des Tuileries*. The names of the five authors are not mentioned on the title-page or in the *Au lecteur*. In the latter notice, the play is declared to have been made "par cinq differans Auteurs, qui pour n'être pas nommés, ne laissent pas toutes fois d'auoir beaucoup de nom; et les Ouurages desquels sont assez connus d'ailleurs, pour vous faire aduoüer le merite de cellui-cy". Pellisson, however, identifies these authors: "Ces cinq personnes estoient Messieurs de Boisrobert, Corneille, Colletet, de

³⁷ There are verses from this ballet reproduced in the *Recueil de 1627*, the *privilege* for which was issued on June 2, 1626. This would apparently make the date of the performance of the *Naufrage heureux* fall between February 24, 1626, the date of the second performance of the *Douairière*, and June 2, 1626, since it is unlikely that the former ballet should have been produced before the first performance of the *Douairière*, on February 2, 1626, as the preparations for this latter ballet must have occupied most of the month of January. On the other hand, despite the fact that the *privilege* for the *Recueil de 1627* was issued on June 2, 1626, verse written by L'Estoille after that date may have been included, for his poems were inserted on unnumbered pages apparently too late to be included in the index. This would seem to indicate that the ballet was composed after June 2, and probably towards the close of the year 1626.

³⁸ Lacroix, *Ballets et Mascarades de cour de Henri III à Louis XIV*, Genève, 1868-1870, IV, 9.

L'Estaille et Rotrou".³⁹ The play apparently enjoyed some success, for there were four performances given, and *L'Aveugle de Smyrne* and *La Grande Pastorale* were composed presumably in the same manner at the command of Richelieu.

Richelieu must have rewarded in some way the five poets who thus sacrificed their individuality, and made a loan of their good name to satisfy the whim of this clerical impresario. The Cardinal's generosity toward Colletet is well known through Pellisson's account of the poet's famous lines in the *Monologue* of the *Comédie des Tuileries*. Six of these lines were worth six hundred *livres*; and "le roi n'estoit pas assez riche pour payer tout le reste". Colletet's wistful couplet has immortalized this story:

Armand, qui pour six vers m'as donné six cents livres,
Que ne puis-je à ce prix te vendre tous mes livres.⁴⁰

The incident shows that the Cardinal aspired to play the rôle of a Maecenas as well as that of a playwright. It is more than likely that L'Estaille, along with the other members of the group, profited by the liberality of Richelieu. According to Pellisson, the Five Authors, in addition to a regular pension which they enjoyed, received "quelques libéralités considerables, quand ils avoient réussi à son gré".

If L'Estaille did receive any remuneration from the Cardinal for this hack work, it probably was soon eaten up in the same manner as his paternal inheritance, namely in *amourettes*. To be sure, the poet was married, briefly and unhappily, to the daughter of an advocate. It was also an advocate's daughter, la Sandrier, who was chiefly responsible for the dissipation of his inheritance; for the daughters of these men-of-law seem to have been particularly fatal to him.⁴¹ After passing many nights in impatient attendance at the door of la Sandrier, "car il estoit poétiquement amoureux",⁴² he was forced to see Saint-Thomas

³⁹ Cf. *op. cit.*, I, 84.

⁴⁰ Cf. *loc. cit.*

⁴¹ Tallemant relates that L'Estaille, having been uncivilly jostled by an advocate at the *Palais de justice*, inquired the name of the offender. "Il s'appelle Fléau", luy dit-on.—"Vrayment, ce nom ne luy convient pas mal; je serois d'avis", dit-il, "qu'on appellast ainsy tous les procureurs". V, 90, *ad notam*.

⁴² *Les Historiettes*, V, 89.

carry off the object of his passion.⁴³ His marriage to another lawyer's daughter was small consolation, for he was tormented by acute attacks of jealousy. For a long time he kept his marriage to this dowerless girl a secret; and as he did not have the money to live comfortably in Paris with a family, he withdrew to a country place near enough to the capital to allow him to make frequent visits to his friends in the city. This solitary retreat from the center of intellectual life was not so objectionable to him as one might expect, for he was attracted to the life of the fields by his great passion for flowers.⁴⁴ But even in this retirement, his inordinate jealousy of his wife was manifested. What persecutions his unfortunate wife suffered will never be known; we have only the brief remark of Tallemant that "il en fut si jaloux qu'elle mourut du chagrin que luy donnèrent les bizarreries de son mary".⁴⁵

L'Estoille must have enjoyed with a particular zest the break in the monotony of this country life when he attended the weekly sessions of the newly formed Academy.⁴⁶ It is very probable that his admission to this body came as a result of Richelieu's, or Boisrobert's influence. He was not among the original nine friends who, beginning about 1629, were accustomed to meet at Conrart's house, where they "s'entretenoient familièrement, comme ils eussent fait en une visite ordinaire, et de toute sorte de choses, d'affaires, de nouvelles, de belles-lettres".⁴⁷ This simple private reunion was transformed by Richelieu, at the instigation

⁴³ The poet, over sensitive in his relation with this coquette, was nearly involved in a duel with a certain Beaulieu on account of some mocking verses which the latter directed against L'Estoille and his *maîtresse*. Cf. *Les Historiettes*, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁴ Cf. the letter addressed to him on this subject by du Pelletier, *Lettres nouvelles*, Paris, 1655, p. 120. This citation was made by Livet, *op. cit.*, I, 248.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, V, 90.

⁴⁶ That the poet was not continuously in the city at this time, may be inferred from the fact that his place as second on the list of those who were to deliver addresses had to be filled by Bourzeys on account of L'Estoille's absence. Had he been in the city, it would have been a simple matter to notify him of his selection.

⁴⁷ Pellisson, *op. cit.*, I, 9. The meetings of twelve of the future academicians, among whom is mentioned L'Estoille, are noted with disapproval by Mlle de Gournay; cf. Gaillard, *Cartel, Œuvres mêlées*, Paris, 1634.

of Boisrobert,⁴⁸ into the *Académie française*, for which a charter was issued in January, 1635. Once the Cardinal had given his favor to the gatherings, the selection of additional members was delegated to him, first tacitly through the instrumentality of Boisrobert, and then by law.⁴⁹ Consequently, those nearest to Richelieu who enjoyed any reputation for wit found no difficulty in entering the group, so that after the original nine members, various satellites of the Cardinal were proposed: Chastelet, Bautru, *conseillers d'état*, Servien, *secrétaire d'état*, and Séguier, *garde des sceaux*, among the politicians; and among the literati, Boisrobert, who was his merryandrew, Desmarets, Colletet, L'Estoille, and Baudoin, all destined to be his literary hack writers. Thus easily did L'Estoille, supported by the patronage of Richelieu and the friendship of Boisrobert, slip into the company of immortals.⁵⁰

In the beginning, the exact form that the activities of the Academy would take was by no means well defined. The delivery

⁴⁸ Boisrobert at this time was most intimate with the Cardinal; according to Pellisson, "son plus grand soin était de délasser l'esprit de son maître, après le bruit et l'embarras des affaires, tantôt par ces agréables contes qu'il fait mieux que personne du monde, tantôt en lui rapportant toutes les petites nouvelles de la cour et de la ville; et ce divertissement étoit si utile au Cardinal, que son premier médecin, M. Citois, avoit accoutumé de lui dire: 'Monseigneur, nous ferons tout ce que nous pourrons pour votre santé; mais toutes nos drogues sont inutiles, si vous n'y mêlez un peu de Boisrobert'". *Op. cit.*, I, 12.

⁴⁹ Jan. 12, 1635. "On ne recevroit plus d'Académicien qui n'eût été présenté au Cardinal et n'eût reçu son approbation." Cf. Pellisson, *op. cit.*, I, 150. The Academy had officially asked him to be their protector in a letter of March 22, 1634. *Op. cit.*, I, 20.

⁵⁰ The date of his admission cannot be exactly determined from Pellisson's account. He was admitted with the third group shortly before March 13, 1634. According to the list drawn up by Livet in his edition of the *Histoire de l'Académie française*, II, 540, L'Estoille was the twenty-fourth member of the Academy. L'abbé Fabre assigns him the twenty-third chair, the difference being caused by the latter's changing the place of Paul Hay du Chastelet, the exact date of whose nomination is not given by Pellisson, though he was very probably a member before March 20, 1634, since he was on that day appointed to help formulate the code of the Academy. Pellisson, *op. cit.*, I, 28, 29. Nevertheless, as Mesnard has pointed out, the order is uncertain, or at least arbitrary, though it matters little provided the succession is well established. Cf. Mesnard, *Histoire de l'Académie française*, Paris, 1857, 335, 336, *ad notas*.

of a set speech formed a part of the weekly program for a period of more than a year, February, 1635, to March, 1636. A list of all the members was drawn up by lot, according to which each one was to deliver in his turn a discourse upon any subject that he saw fit. Evidently an academy of eloquence modeled after the *Académie du Palais* and its famous Italian predecessors was vaguely in the minds of some. The trivial titles of some of the discourses go far toward explaining the discontinuance of the practice: *Sur l'Eloquence françoise* (Du Chastelet), *Sur le Je ne sais quoi* (Gombauld), *Que lorsqu'un siècle a produit un excellent héros, il s'est trouvé des personnes capables de le louer* (Gomberville), *Contre l'Amour* (Chapelain), *De l'Amour des corps* (Desmarets), and so on to the number of twenty-four.⁵¹ L'Estoille, who performed tenth in this exhibition of formal eloquence, spun as abstract a theme as the others, but one which, if we can believe the evidence of his contemporaries, he was peculiarly fitted to amplify: *De l'excellence de la Poésie, et de la rareté des parfaits Poètes*. On this subject, says Pellisson, "il déclame fort agréablement contre la servitude de la rime, et se venge de tout le mal qu'elle lui a jamais fait souffrir".⁵² One can easily imagine with what sadistic delight the painstaking and critical poet fashioned and then tore to shreds his own extravagant ideal of poesy. But this steady stream of declamation grew boring after a time, and the attention of the academicians was focusing on the proposed Dictionary and Grammar when the affair of the *Cid* afforded a more piquant intellectual dish.

Following the account of Pellisson, it has generally been supposed⁵³ that Richelieu was the moving spirit behind the notorious *Sentimens de l'Académie françoise sur la Tragi-Comédie du Cid*.⁵⁴ This delicate and distasteful task of deciding between Scudéry and Corneille, undertaken against the desire of the latter, was finally accepted by the Academy under the coercion exercised by Richelieu through his henchman, Boisrobert. Once decided upon by the Academy, the criticism of Corneille's master-

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, I, 74-78.

⁵² Cf. *op. cit.*, I, 75; Pellisson writes as if he had a copy of the discourse in his hands, though it was not one of the five which were printed.

⁵³ Cf. *op. cit.*, I, 86; Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, Paris, 1896-1900, IV, 146; M. J. Taschereau, *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de P. Corneille*, Paris, I, 64-66; etc.

⁵⁴ Reproduced by A. Gasté, *La Querelle du Cid*, Paris, 1898, pp. 355-417.

piece was entered into with considerable formality and method. By a secret vote of the members it was decided that the examination of the play as a whole should be entrusted to de Bourzeys, Chapelain, and Desmarets. For the criticism of the verse, however, a special committee was selected, consisting of men who enjoyed some reputation as poets: Cérisy,⁵⁵ Gombauld,⁵⁶ Baro,⁵⁷ and L'Estoille. The observations of these four metrical specialists were submitted to the Academy at several regular and extraordinary sessions. The results of these combined efforts were then whipped into final shape by Desmarets. The criticism thus completed was not the final form which the *Sentiments* took, but was apparently only a sketch made to ascertain if the Cardinal approved of their ideas. Richelieu, however, must have considered the judgments too harsh, for he suggested that "il falloit y jeter quelques poignées de fleurs"⁵⁸ The next rehandling was done by an altered committee in which Sérizay and Sirmond took the places of Baro and L'Estoille. Their work erred too far in the other direction; so several other drafts were made, in none of which L'Estoille had any hand, before Chapelain was appointed to draw up the final form. It is obvious, therefore, that L'Estoille's part in the finished work as issued in 1638 must have been almost negligible.

After the flurry caused by the examination of the *Cid* had passed, the company turned its attention to the making of the Dictionary. In this project, however, L'Estoille took no recorded part. Of the three major occupations of the early Academy, the discourses, the examination of the *Cid*, and the Dictionary, L'Estoille played his modest rôle in two. In addition, the poet was

⁵⁵ Loret in *La Muse historique*, June 6, 1654, has eulogized Cérisy thus:

Il excelloit, sur toute choze
Aux beaux vers, en la belle proze.

⁵⁶ Gombauld, from whom L'Estoille was said to have learned to versify, is characterized by Costar as "le poète de France qui fait mieux des sonnets et des épigrammes". Cf. Pellison, *op. cit.*, II, 104.

⁵⁷ Baro, whose present reputation rests almost entirely upon his completion of the *Astrée*, deserves, according to P. Lacroix, just such a literary renaissance as has been accorded Ronsard. Cf. *Catalogue de Soleinne*, I, 222; cited by Lachèvre in his *Bibliographie des recueils collectifs de poésies publiés de 1597 à 1700*, I, 97.

⁵⁸ Pellisson, I, 91. It is not improbable that L'Estoille's biting critical sense may have been an important influence in the Academy's judgment, severe even in Richelieu's eyes.

among those who at this period presented their works for the consideration of the company. According to the *Registres* for April 21, 1636, he read some of his poetry before the assembled group on that day, though the nature of the verse is not designated.⁵⁹

On December 4, 1642, the Academy suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Cardinal Richelieu, its founder and Protector. Upon this occasion, L'Estoille was able to express fittingly his gratitude to his noble patron. On the ninth of December, the poet, who was Director⁶⁰ of the Academy at the moment, expressed briefly the grief of the whole body at the loss of their Protector and asked the company to consider a fitting way to manifest their sorrow at his death and their gratitude for his care. Pellisson, quoting in his usual indirect style, represents the poet as saying

Qu'il n'y avoit, à son avis, personne dans tout le Corps, qui ne fût très-sensiblement touché de ce malheur et qui ne fût disposé à le témoigner, non-seulement en ordonnant un service, et en composant un Eloge à M. le Cardinal, comme on avoit accoutumé de faire aux Académiciens qui mouroient, mais encore en lui fondant un anniversaire avec le plus de solennité qu'il seroit possible; que néanmoins toute cette pompe regardoit plutôt la satisfaction des vivants que la gloire des morts, il estimoit que l'Académie devoit plutôt donner des preuves de sa piété et de sa reconnaissance par des actions promptes et dévotes, que par un grand apparat qu'il faudroit retarder longtemps; qu'il prioit donc la Compagnie de délibérer ce qui étoit à faire pour ce regard.⁶¹

Whereupon it was resolved that a service for the Cardinal should be held at the Carmes des Billettes, for which each member should contribute as he could, in order that the gesture might be accompanied by a pomp and circumstance befitting such a statesman and patron of letters. It was later decided by the company that it would be more appropriate to have a less elaborate service, for which L'Estoille asked the privilege of assuming the entire expense. The request was granted, and the service was celebrated on the morning of December 20, 1642.

⁵⁹ Pellisson, *op. cit.*, I, 115. The notes in the 1858 edition have been incorrectly numbered at the bottom of the page: note 2 should be 1, note 3 should be 2, etc. This change corrects the date of the reading of L'Estoille's poetry.

⁶⁰ There was really no particular honor in being Director since the office was filled every two months by lot. Cf. Article four of the *Statuts et réglemens de l'Académie française*, Pellisson, *op. cit.*, I, 490.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, I, 130.

With the death of Cardinal Richelieu, the Academy found itself confronted with the problem of naming his successor as Protector of the group. After considering Cardinal Mazarin and the duc d'Enghien, afterwards prince de Condé, who was then only twenty-one years old, the company finally fixed upon Chancellor Séguier. Séguier, who had been admitted to the Academy in 1635, had shown some interest in its work, though he had possessed rather the status of an honorary member. He was by far the most prominent man in the company and as such his name had been placed first on the rolls, separated from the other members, who were arranged according to lot. It was resolved, therefore, that the officers, accompanied by de Priézac, Chapelain, and de Sérissy, should call upon the Chancellor to invite him to honor the company with his protection. L'Estoille, who was still Director, delivered the complimentary speech of invitation, couched in the ornate hyperbole of the times. However, in this speech, as in his later dedication to Séguier, L'Estoille shows a sense of restraint after his florid introduction that is quite laudable when one considers the general practice in this gross form of flattery. Apparently the address was well thought of, for it was preserved in the records and judged worthy of insertion in the *Histoire de l'Académie française* by the devoted chronicler, Pellisson.⁶² The invitation was received with great civility and even manifestations of joy on the part of the Chancellor. Accordingly, he was installed immediately as official Protector of the Academy, and his place as simple member was subsequently filled.

L'Estoille's part in the Academy, therefore, was by no means an unimportant one. Only in the preparation of the Dictionary was he found on the inactive list. Evidently, his poetical and fantastic spirit did not recommend him to the company as a philologist. Nevertheless, Saint-Evremond has given the poet a part in his *Comédie des Académistes pour la réformation de la langue françoise*, in which he declaims dogmatically against the expressions *à ravir*, *paradis*, *jadis*, *auparavant*.⁶³ Moreover, in the same play L'Estoille is assigned two sycophantic speeches in praise of Chancellor Séguier.⁶⁴ It is possible that these speeches

⁶² Cf. I, 133.

⁶³ Cf. V, 2.

⁶⁴ Cf. II, 2, and V, 1.

both reflect a relationship of patron and grateful protégé, which was familiar to the poet's contemporaries. At any rate, L'Estoille, who by his pleasing speech inviting Séguier to become Protector of the Academy, must have directed favorable attention upon himself, presumed to dedicate to the Chancellor a play published shortly after this event.⁶⁵

This tragi-comedy, the first play of which he was the sole author, was probably written when the poet was about forty-five years old. What is the explanation for this tardy appearance of dramatic talent? It is very probable that he was originally urged into the dramatic field, in 1634, by Richelieu, or his satellites, according to the Cardinal's policy described by Pellisson.⁶⁶ L'Estoille's talent was essentially lyric, as in his occasional verse, or droll and fanciful, as in his ballets, rather than dramatic. But writing the *Comédie des Tuileries* and the *Aveugle de Smyrne* in collaboration with three or four of the most famous poets of the time was an excellent apprenticeship which might naturally have oriented him toward the drama. A more practical urge in that direction was the growing popularity of the theatre and the declining interest in the ballet. The poet was merely emulating his famous associates and following the literary mode. But despite his late appearance as a writer of plays, his work seems to have achieved some success. *La Belle Esclave* was probably performed in 1642, and its popularity is attested by the fact that in 1669 it was still being played.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ *La Belle Esclave*, tragi-comédie. Paris, Pierre Moreau, 1643, in-4. This play was printed with a new set of type invented by Pierre Moreau, *Imprimeur ordinaire du Roi*. Another edition appeared at Lyon in 1654 chez Claude de la Rivière. The *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Soleinne*, item number 1204, and Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux ou nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique*, p. 83, both give an edition of 1645 which probably is the same as that of 1643. Mouhy notes an edition printed at Anvers in 1643. Cf. *Abrégé de l'histoire du théâtre françois*, Paris, 1780, I, 61.

⁶⁶ See below, pp. 51, 52.

⁶⁷ Cf. Poisson, *Le Baron de la Crasse*, scene 5. The Baron asks an actor what plays he has in the repertory of his company, and specifically he inquires about *L'Agésilas de Colchos* (and not *L'Aquilon de Colchos* as Lucas has it):

Non, nous n'avons qu'Eudoxe, et l'hôpital des Fous,
Messieurs, le Dom Quichot, l'Illusion Comique,
Argenis, Ibrahim, et l'Amour Tyrannique.
La Belle Esclave, Orphée, Esther, Alcimedon, . . .

Cited by Lucas, *Histoire du théâtre français*, I, 212.

Four years elapsed before the name of L'Estoille again appeared on the title-page of a play. These years were spent in polishing a comedy, *L'Intrigue des filous*,⁶⁸ which was represented at the *Hôtel de Bourgogne* in 1647.⁶⁹ The play must have been a success there, for it was performed again before Anne d'Autriche and the court at Fontainebleau, September 30, 1647.⁷⁰ It is very likely that the performance at the *Hôtel de Bourgogne* preceded that at Fontainebleau by a very short while. This would place the time of the first production probably in September or shortly before.⁷¹ L'Estoille's diffidence prevented his being present at this court production,⁷² which, according to Ballesdens, was a tremendous success. The academician jestingly thanks the author for having acclimatized his rogues among the forests and rocks of Fontainebleau, to the great amusement and safety of the court.

The *Intrigue des filous* was the last complete play which the poet wrote. His method of composition was painstakingly slow, as is evidenced by the small quantity of verse left by him. Pellisson noted the great care with which he fashioned his verse: "Il travailloit avec un soin extraordinaire, et repassoit cent fois sur les mêmes choses: de là vient que nous avons si peu

⁶⁸ *L'Intrigue des filous*, comédie. Paris, Antoine de Sommaville, 1648. *Privilège*, February 5, 1648, *achevé d'imprimer*, April 24, 1648.

⁶⁹ Cf. H. Carrington Lancaster, *Le Mémoire de Mahelot, Laurent et d'autres décorateurs*, Paris, Champion, 1920, p. 54.

⁷⁰ Fournier, *Le Théâtre français au 16^e et au 17^e siècle*, Paris, II, 511, erroneously states that the comedy was given at Fontainebleau on October 6, 1647. This is in reality the date of the letter of Ballesdens which is prefixed to the 1648 edition of the play. But the writer of this letter plainly states that the performance took place the Thursday before. "Il faut que vous soyez bien ennemy de vostre gloire, puisque vous n'estes pas venu leudy dernier à Fontaine-bleau." October 6th fell on a Wednesday in 1647, which would place the date of the performance at Fontainebleau on the preceding Thursday, September 30.

⁷¹ This would be in accordance with Prof. Lancaster's determination of the date when the second part of the so-called *Mémoire de Mahelot* was completed, which he placed about the middle of 1647. Had the *Hôtel de Bourgogne* production taken place after September 30, it would probably have been too late to be included in the list drawn up by the *décorateurs* of the theatre. Cf. Lancaster, *op. cit.*, 27.

⁷² See above, pp. 10, 11.

d'ouvrages de lui".⁷³ His habit of reading his verses to a servant in order to test their intelligibility readily exemplifies his serious attitude toward art.⁷⁴ Moreover, he has left behind him the reputation of having a mordantly critical spirit. He is even said to have caused the death of a young provincial poet whose comedy he censured severely.⁷⁵ One of Pellisson's own friends who had come to submit a play for his approval felt the force of the poet's critical scorn. L'Estoille "en écouta la première et la seconde scène sans dire mot; mais à la troisième, où il y avoit un roi qui ne parloit pas à son gré, se levant en sursaut:—Ce roi est ivre, dit-il, car autrement il ne tiendrait pas ce discours".⁷⁶ Another incident is related by Ménage, which pictures L'Estoille lowering the pride of a young provincial who was praising extravagantly the literary merit of one of his compatriots.⁷⁷ A man endowed with so highly critical a faculty is not likely to spare himself in his judgments: doubtlessly such was the case with L'Estoille. From 1643 until his death in 1652 he published nothing, though he was working at that time on a comedy to be called *Le Secrétaire de Saint-Innocent*.⁷⁸

The last years of the poet's life were spent outside of Paris. He had married and left Paris rather late in life, and after the death of his wife he did not return. Even his death has something of the fantastic in it, for, as Tallemant says, "tout est bizarre en luy". So strange, in fact, that one must needs read the

⁷³ *Op. cit.*, I, 249.

⁷⁴ "Lorsqu'il avoit composé un ouvrage, il le lisoit à sa servante (comme on a dit aussi de Malherbe) pour connoître s'il avoit bien réussi, croyant que les vers n'avoient pas leur entière perfection s'ils n'étoient remplis d'une certaine beauté qui se fait sentir aux personnes même les plus rudes et les plus grossières." Pellisson, *op. cit.*, I, 247.

⁷⁵ Cf. Pellisson, *op. cit.*, I, 248, 249.

⁷⁶ Pellisson, *op. cit.*, I, 249. Tallemant corroborates this story, *op. cit.*, V, 91. The author in question, Michel Le Clerc, was reading his tragedy *Ramire*. L'Estoille's judgment has been sustained, for according to Livet, the play has never been published.

⁷⁷ *Ménagiana*, Paris, Florentin et Pierre Delaulne, 1693, pp. 460, 461.

⁷⁸ The *secrétaires de Saint-Innocent* were public writers who had established themselves in the cloister of Saint-Innocent. Corneille, *L'Illusion comique*, I, 3, makes mention of this tribe. Cf. note of Marty-Laveaux, *Œuvres de P. Corneille*, Paris, Hachette, 1862-1868 (*Les Grands Écrivains de la France*), II, 442.

actual words of Tallemant in order to believe. "Il s'estoit mis en fantaisie de ne manger que des confitures, et cela luy causa une indigestion estrange: il rendoit les choses comme il les prenoit, et ne sentoit point la douleur. Il en trespassa pourtant".⁷⁹ His death occurred on February 4, 1652, when the poet was only fifty-four years of age.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, on his death bed, in response to the same sort of religious urge which ruled his father's spirit and which is shadowed forth in the theme of *La Belle Esclave*, the poet surrendered to the ungentle hands of a Jansenist all the verses which he had been laboring over for years. They have never been recovered. Colletet, who was probably one of the poet's closest friends, wrote the following platitudinous epigram upon his death:

En vain dans nos écrits et dans nos témoignages
Nous voulons à l'Etoile ériger un Tombeau,
Puisqu'il s'en est bâti dans ses propres ouvrages
Un qu'il a bien rendu plus durable et plus beau.⁸¹

It is probable that L'Estoille had maintained a rather close relation with Séguier from the time of his famous speech in 1642. One is not surprised, therefore, to learn that the poet's place in the Academy, at the request of the Chancellor, was filled by the latter's grandson, the marquis de Coislin, a lad of sixteen years at the time.⁸²

L'Estoille left one daughter, Claude-Marie de L'Estoille, who had married a certain Charles Dogues, sieur de la Pommeraye et de la Colinière.⁸³ There were no male children of L'Estoille; and, according to Godefroy, there remains no trace of any lineal descendants. The Poussemothes inherited the name and the arms of the family, and also the valuable manuscripts of Pierre de L'Estoile.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ *Les Historiettes*, V, 91.

⁸⁰ Jal, *op. cit.*, p. 780.

⁸¹ Cf. Goujet, *Bibliothèque françoise, ou histoire de la littérature françoise*, Paris, 1741-1756, XVI, 155.

⁸² Cf. Pellisson, *op. cit.*, I, 158. The solicitous grandfather was anxious to surround his grandchild with literary lights at an early age, so the idea of turning the Academy into a training school for his family quite naturally came to him.

⁸³ *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de Lestoile*, vol. XII, p. xxxv.

⁸⁴ Cf. *loc. cit.* The Poussemothes were descendants of Anne, a half-sister of Claude, who had married in 1595 a Jean de Poussemothe.

It is questionless that Claude de L'Estaille left upon his contemporaries a powerful and ineradicable impression of an uncommon personality, if not that of a remarkable poet. Tallemant recognized the fantastic spirit of the poet: "Il y avoit quelque chose d'extravagant dans cet esprit-là".⁸⁵ He had all the crotchets and vagaries of the conventional romantic genius; with the sudden changes of a neurotic, he was now up on the heights of ecstatic pride and now in the very depths of despair. "D'abord il parloit de luy comme d'un escolier; puis, pour peu qu'on le mist en train, il se mettoit audessus de Malherbe."⁸⁶ He sometimes seemed to be the very spirit of the perverse, as in his insistence on writing in a darkened room by the light of a candle when it was daylight.⁸⁷ Irascible in temperament, he seems to have been—not an unnatural concomitant of his variability. "Chez Malleville", Tallemant relates, "il foula aux pieds, comme un monstre, une meschante pièce dont Malleville se divertissoit, et prononça anathème contre elle d'un ton de voix foudroyant".⁸⁸

What a character for a romantic poet! If only he had lived in the eighteen hundreds, what a figure he would have made! Tallemant has caught some of the fire and verve of the man: "Jamais homme n'eut plus l'air et l'esprit d'un poète que celuy-là". If he meets you on the crowded street at noon or at night, whenever the fancy takes hold of him, he seizes you by the arm and forces you to listen to his verse there in the streets or under some lighted doorway. Should not poets, even more than professors, be absorbed in their tenuous dreams? What poet was ever more oblivious of practical concerns than L'Estaille? Can any poet show more scorn of the petty demands of life than this? "Un soir, comme il rajustoit un vers en se retirant, on luy prit son chapeau; il ne s'en avisa que quand il eut trouvé le mot qu'il cherchoit, et après il se mit à crier: *Aux voleurs!* mais il n'estoit plus temps".⁸⁹ Shall we seek an explanation for this fantastic spirit in a neurotic strain induced by the omnipresent consciousness of the cruel disfigurement which

⁸⁵ Cf. *op. cit.*, V, 90.

⁸⁶ Cf. *loc. cit.*

⁸⁷ Pellisson, *op. cit.*, I, 246; confirmed by Tallemant, *op. cit.*, V, 90.

⁸⁸ Cf. *loc. cit.* His hypercritical spirit has already been pointed out in another connection, pp. 21, 22.

⁸⁹ *Les Historiettes*, V, 91.

the poet underwent as a boy? Such psychoses brought on by an over-sensitiveness to physical eccentricity are quite common. On the other hand, with the few facts of L'Estoille's life that we have at our disposal, it would be presumptuous to make a deduction of this kind upon which to build an explanation of his character and *Weltanschauung*. Let us accept the poet as he is so delightfully depicted *au naturel* by Tallemant and Pellisson, a perfect example of the romantic genius: whimsical, fantastic and extravagant.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ M. Emile Roy fancies that the character Orilan in Sorel's *Polyandre* (1648) was fashioned after the poet L'Estoille. Sorel derives the name of Orilan "de quelques mots grecs, qui signifieraient un Soleil ou un Astre courant et agité". Cf. *La Vie et les œuvres de Charles Sorel*, Paris, 1891, p. 188.

VII. CONCLUSION

L'Estoille's extravagant character, as we have shown, was reflected in his verse; and the few contemporary writers who have left notices of his work recognized this phase of the poet. An uncertain forerunner of Boileau in the gentle art of establishing and breaking literary reputations thus excoriates the young poet: ¹

. . . . et que L'ESTOILLE
Prend un peu trop de vent, qu'il enfle trop son voile,
Qu'il se hasarde trop, et que, mauvais nocher,
Il ne cognoist en mer ny coste ny rocher.

These are not surprising characteristics of a poet of twenty-five years. Although L'Estoille's comedy was reprinted as late as 1689, he was better known as a poet. Pellisson, whose judgment, more often than not, was in the direction of praise, declared that L'Estoille had made himself famous in poetry and *belles lettres*.² The poet's odes and stances are characterized by him as being "fort belles".³ Charles Sorel lists him with Gombaud, Malleville, the two Haberts, and Colletet as the successors to Théophile and Saint-Amant.⁴ That Gueret placed L'Estoille among the upholders of the classical tradition is merely another evidence of the two-fold rôle which the poet played in this transition period.⁵ Saint-Evremond, in *La Comédie des Académistes* (I, 1), puts

¹ Cf. Courval Sonnet, *Œuvres poétiques*, Paris, Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1876, II, 162. The lines are contained in the *Satyre du Temps* reproduced from the fourth edition of Rouen, Guillaume de la Haye, 1626. M. Lachèvre (*Un Admirateur de Théophile, critique littéraire* in *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Lanson*, Paris, 1922, pp. 191-204) is of the opinion that the *Satyre du Temps* was written by Charles de Besançon de Bazoches. At any rate, the earliest known edition of the work is of 1622. This criticism of L'Estoille, coming as early as 1622, the date of his earliest known printed poems, indicates that there must have existed other verse previous to this date, whether in printed form or in manuscript.

² Cf. *op. cit.*, I, 246.

³ *Op. cit.*, I, 249.

⁴ Cf. Charles Sorel, *La Bibliothèque française*, Paris, 1667, p. 203.

⁵ Gueret, *Guerre des auteurs anciens et modernes*, à la Haye, 1716, pp. 35, 36. First edition, 1671.

in the mouth of Saint-Amant a rather uncomplimentary description of the poet :

Il fait de l'esprit doux, mais il est plat un peu.

The inclusion of L'Estoille on the first committee impaneled to pass judgment upon the versification of the *Cid* throws some light upon his contemporary reputation as a poet and also as a critic. For it was probably in this latter capacity that L'Estoille most impressed the literati of the day. Fantastic stories of the ferocity of his criticism as related by both Tallemant and Pellisson have already been cited, and Gilles Ménage adds to this tradition.⁶ He relates that

un jour M. Gombaud et moy étions chez M. de L'Etoile, et il s'y trouva un Provincial qui louoit extrêmement les vers d'un Poète de sa Province. Si on avoit voulu le croire c'étoit le meilleur poète de France. M. de l'Etoile qui ne connoissoit pas ce Poète, nous demanda si nous le connoissions; nous luy dimes que non. Alors il prononça cet Arrest: Malheur à tout homme qui fait des vers et qui n'est pas connu, de M. Gombaud, de M. Ménage et de moy.

Were the tone of this anecdote not rendered suspect by the part played in it by the narrator, one would almost believe that L'Estoille performed somewhat the rôle of a literary dictator in his group. Moreover, the part assigned to L'Estoille in *La Comédie des Académistes* is that of a pedantic quibbler over words. Conceding the purpose of the author and the exigencies of satirical composition, we, nevertheless, can catch through this brief dialogue a glimpse of the carping literary critic, the same L'Estoille described by Tallemant and Pellisson. Even in the latter part of the century, L'Estoille's reputation must have been appreciable, for Paul Colomiès contemplated making an edition of the poet's works. Chapelain, to whom the famous Protestant had applied for information about L'Estoille, warmly applauded the design.⁷ Unfortunately, the plan of Colomiès was never

⁶ Ménagiana, Paris, 1693, p. 460, 461.

⁷ "Pour les œuvres de Mr de L'Estoille, elles seront sans doute fort dignes de vos soins, et je contribuerois volontiers à l'avancement de vostre dessein par mes connoissances; mais selon que vous me marqués de celles que vous en avés, je n'y puis adjouster que l'avis du lieu où *la Belle esclave* a esté imprimée et par qui, un ami me l'ayant fait voir. Vous l'aurez sur un billet séparé avec cette lettre." *Lettres de Jean Chapelain*, ed. cit., II, pp. 547, 548. What irony for this zealous Protestant refugee to be occupied in gathering together the works which a Jansenist had done his best to destroy!

consummated. Probably the most fulsome praise ever accorded L'Estoille was the remark of Du Pelletier as recorded by Pellisson (*op. cit.*, I, 247). Speaking of *La Belle Esclave*, Du Pelletier said: "Je vous avoue que j'aimerois mieux avoir composé cette pièce que d'avoir acquis trois duchés et le titre de grand d'Espagne."

In the eighteenth century L'Estoille still enjoyed some reputation, at least as a poet. Goujet records that "on estime encore les Stances que Claude de l'Etoile envoya au Cardinal de Richelieu";⁸ to such an extent, indeed, that they were reprinted in the *Bibliothèque* de M. le Fort de la Morinière. Goujet, on the whole, speaks very favorably of L'Estoille, whose odes and *stances* he considers not unworthy of the place which the poet filled in the Academy.⁹ Most of the other literary historians of the century who gave any notice to L'Estoille—les Frères Parfaict, La Vallière, Lériss, Maupoint, Nicéron—merely reproduced the facts and criticism of the seventeenth century writers. When the imitation of nature as it was understood by the eighteenth century disciples of reason became the rule of thumb for literary criticism, L'Estoille, along with greater poets like Ronsard and Théophile, fell into complete neglect. He was rescued from absolute oblivion by Voltaire. The cantankerous critic in his discourse on *Goût*¹⁰ cites the poet as an example of bad taste in verse. He first quotes, as a sample of good taste, some verses of Voiture written to the Grand Condé on his illness. Then he launches into an indignant attack upon L'Estoille:

Dans le même temps, L'Estoile, qui passait pour un génie; L'Estoile, l'un des cinq auteurs qui travaillaient aux tragédies¹¹ du cardinal de Richelieu; L'Estoile, l'un des juges de Corneille, faisait ces vers qui sont imprimés à la suite de Malherbe et de Racan: (Here the irate critic quotes the first six lines of L'Estoille's *Chanson à boire*). Il n'est point de lecteur qui ne convienne que les vers de Voiture sont d'un courtisan qui a le bon goût en partage, et ceux de L'Estoile, d'un homme grossier sans esprit.

Nothing could be a keener commentary upon the esthetic system

⁸ Stanzas beginning "Richelieu, dont l'esprit plus grand que l'Univers", in *Les Nouvelles Muses*. Cf. Goujet, *op. cit.*, XVI, 153.

⁹ Goujet, *op. cit.*, XVI, 152.

¹⁰ Voltaire, *Œuvres complètes, Dictionnaire philosophique*.

¹¹ As a matter of fact, they were a comedy, a tragi-comedy, and a pastoral.

of the eighteenth century than the fact that in a collection ¹² of seventeenth century lyrics made in 1898, this very *Chanson à boire*, anathematized by Voltaire, was chosen as a representative poem. But the leavening influence of Romanticism had intervened and rendered the nineteenth century closer in spirit to the seventeenth than to the eighteenth century.

It is rather in this latter spirit that L'Estoille presents himself to the modern critic. As the able critic Faguet ¹³ has pointed out, the period 1600-1630 was characterized by a romantic spirit which had its roots far back in the sixteenth century. The early L'Estoille, as seen through his ballets and love poetry, reflects the essential romanticism of this period. We must look for his literary progenitors to Ronsard, Théophile, and Saint-Amant rather than to the formalism of Malherbe. Nevertheless, L'Estoille shows in a clear way by his own development the trend of literary fashion as it diverged more and more from the spirit of *libertinage*. After 1630, restraint in form and thought is the dominant tone of the poet's verse. Not that this change was of so sudden a nature, for even before this date are to be found occasional traces of the cult of form and reason. But after the *Recueil* of 1630, the romantic taint is practically absent from L'Estoille's poetry. The force which was operating this change in L'Estoille was also working upon French literature as a whole. The spirit of Malherbe was abroad in the land, and, gaining power as it diffused itself, finally gave birth to the classic age of Louis XIV's reign.

In the theatre also, L'Estoille was in several respects a transitional figure. He attempted to produce a tragi-comedy at a time when that *genre* was in the last stages of being resolved into the tragedy or comedy. As such, *La Belle Esclave* affords an

¹² Paul Olivier, *Cent Poètes lyriques, précieux ou burlesques du XVII^e siècle*. Paris, 1898, p. 262.

¹³ "La littérature de 1600 à 1630 (says Faguet) fut une littérature romantique, et particulièrement la poésie fut une poésie romantique, où dominaient l'imagination, le caprice et la fantaisie, parfois désordonnée. Au milieu d'elle, Malherbe est un isolé, à peine suivi d'un ou deux disciples, eux-mêmes assez indépendants, et chose curieuse, qui se produit quelquefois en littérature, il a formé une école, et très grande, mais quarante années environ après sa mort." *Histoire de la littérature française*, II. 2.

interesting study of the tragic formulæ slipping into and gradually transforming the appearance of the tragi-comedy. The observance of the classic unities, the use, though in an undeveloped form, of the psychological struggle to effect a climax, the general tone of high seriousness that prevails: all these point to the presence of the tragic system in this *genre* doomed to disappear. Only a tragic ending is needed to turn *La Belle Esclave* into a tragedy fulfilling all the classic rules.

Though the author of a single comedy, L'Estoille, here again, is the herald of the appearance of a new form. Sacrificing almost all plot interest, and depending solely upon the development of character, the *Intrigue des filous* is among the first successful comedies of manners. The character of the *revendeuse*, a worthy descendant of Celestina, and the progenitor of the type so popular in the eighteenth century and reaching far into the nineteenth century with Augier's *Les Lionnes pauvres* (1858), was the invention of L'Estoille.

And finally, the life story of the poet is one of poignant interest, not unmixed with tragedy. A genius who never realized his dreams in any lasting literary monument, he, nevertheless, graved an indelible impression upon the minds of his contemporaries. Though he be known to the literary historian as a peculiarly fitting representative of the transition period between the romantic spirit of the late renaissance and the triumph of common sense, he will always strike a spark in the imaginations of those who know him for his paradoxical wit, his strange eccentricities, his *joie de vivre*, in short, for the very extravagance of the man as it constantly manifests itself in his life and in his poetry.

APPENDIX A

WORKS OF CLAUDE DE L'ESTOILLE

1. *Grand Bal de la Douairière de Billebahaut*. Ballet dansé par le Roy, au mois de Feurier 1626. Vers dudit Ballet, Par le sieur Bordier, ayant charge de la Poésie près de sa Majesté. A Paris, Mathurin Henault, 1626. The verses are by Bordier, L'Estoille, Imbert, Sorel, R., T., and D. L.
2. *Le Balet du naufrage heureux* dansé au Louvre devant Sa Majesté. A Paris chez Nicolas Callement (s. d.).¹
3. *Vers sur le Sviet du Ballet du Roy*. Par Le Sieur de L'Estoille. A Paris, Chez Mathurin Henault, rue Clopin près le petit Nauarre, 1627.
4. *Le Balet des Fols aux Dames*. Dansé au Marest du Temple, 1627. No place or publisher. Lacroix, probably correctly, ascribes this ballet to L'Estoille. Cf. *op. cit.*, IV, 9.
5. *La Comédie des Tivilleries*. Par les cinq Autheurs. Paris, Augustin Courbé, 1638. *Privilège*, May 28, 1638; *achevé d'imprimer*, June 19, 1638.
6. *L'Aveugle de Smyrne*, Tragi-comédie. Par les cinq Autheurs. Paris, Augustin Courbé, 1638. *Privilège*, May 28, 1638; *achevé d'imprimer*, June 17, 1636.
7. *Stances sur la mort du marquis de Coislin*. Paris, Pierre Rocolet, 1641.²
8. *La Belle Esclave*, tragi-comédie. Paris, Pierre Moreau, 1643. *Idem*, Lyon, Claude de la Rivière, 1654.
9. *L'Intrigue des filous*, comédie. Paris, Antoine de Sommaville, 1648. *Privilège*, February 5, 1648; *achevé d'imprimer*, April 24, 1648. *Idem*, suivant la copie imprimée à Paris, édition imprimée par les Elzevier de Leyde.³ *Idem*, 1689, reproduced in the second volume of Fournier's *Théâtre français au 16e et au 17e siècle*, Paris, 1871.

¹ 1626, according to a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which, however, does not give the other information cited by Lacroix, *op. cit.*, III, 119.

² Cf. Lachèvre, *op. cit.*, II, 336.

³ Cf. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, Paris, Didot, 1862, III, 1019.

APPENDIX B

BIBLIOGRAPHY ¹

- ARNAUD, CHARLES: *Les Théories dramatiques au XVII^e siècle*. Etude sur la vie et les œuvres de l'abbé d'Aubignac. Paris, Alphonse Picard, 1888.
- ARNOULD, LOUIS: *Racan (1589-1670)*. Histoire anecdotique et critique de sa vie et de ses œuvres. Paris, Armand Colin, 1896.
- D'AUBIGNAC, L'ABBÉ: *La Pratique du théâtre*, nouvelle édition avec des corrections et des additions inédites de l'auteur, une préface et des notes par Pierre Martino. Paris, Edouard Champion, 1927.
- BAPST, GERMAIN: *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre*. La mise en scène, le décor, le costume, l'architecture, l'éclairage, l'hygiène. Paris, Hachette, 1893.
- BARO, BALTHAZAR: *La Conclusion et dernière partie d'Astrée*. Paris, François Pomeray, 1630.
- BATEREAU, ALFRED: *Georges de Scudéry als Dramatiker*. Leipzig-Plagwitz, 1902 (Dissertation).
- BATIFFOL, LOUIS: "Richelieu a-t-il persécuté Corneille?" In *Revue des deux mondes*, premier avril, 1923, pp. 626-657.
- BEAUCHAMPS, DE: *Recherches sur les théâtres de France*. 3 vols., Paris, 1785.
- BILLAUT, ADAM: *Les Chevilles de M^e Adam, menuisier de Nevers*. Paris, T. Quinet, 1644.
- : *Œuvres*. Paris, 1806.
- BIZOS, GASTON: *Etude sur la vie et les œuvres de Jean de Mairet*. Paris, Thorin, 1877.
- BOER, JOSEPHINE MARIE DE: *The Life and Works of Guillaume Colletet*. Johns Hopkins dissertation. (Unpublished.)
- BOUSCAL, GUÉRIN DE: *L'Amant liberal*. Paris, Toussaint Quinet, 1637.
- BRUNET, J.-C.: *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*. Paris, Didot, 1862.
- CERVANTES, MIGUEL DE: *Novelas ejemplares*. Madrid, Antonio de Sancha, 1783.
- : *Comedias y entremeses*, edición publicada por Schevill y Bonilla, vol. I. Madrid, 1915.
- CHAPELAIN, JEAN: *Lettres de Jean Chapelain, de l'Académie française*, publiées par Ph. Tamizey de Larroque. Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 2 vols., 1880-1883.

¹ In general, this list contains only those books from which direct quotations have been made.

- CHARDON, HENRI: *La Vie de Rotrou mieux connue*. Documents inédits sur la société polie de son temps et la querelle du *Cid*. Paris, Picard, 1884.
- COLLAS, GEORGE: *Jean Chapelain*, Etude historique et littéraire d'après des documents inédits. Paris, Perrin, 1911.
- CORNEILLE, P.: *Œuvres*. Nouvelle édition revue sur les plus anciennes impressions et les autographes, par M. Ch. Marty-Laveaux. Paris, Hachette, 1862, 12 vols. in-8 (Collection des Grands Ecrivains).
- Dictionnaire dramatique*, contenant l'histoire des théâtres, les règles du genre dramatique, les observations des maîtres les plus célèbres, etc. Paris, Lacombe, 1776 (By La Porte and Chamfort).
- DIETSCHY, CHARLOTTE: *Die "Dame d'intrigue" in der französischen Originalkomödie des XVI und XVII Jahrhunderts*. Halle, Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1916. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, vol. 64.
- FABRE, L'ABBÉ A.: *Chapelain et nos deux premières académies*. Paris, Perrin, 1890.
- FAGUET, E.: *Histoire de la littérature française*. Paris, Plon, 1900.
- FOURNEL, VICTOR: *Le Théâtre au XVII^e siècle: La Comédie*. Paris, Lecène, Oudin, 1892.
- : *Les Contemporains de Molière*. Paris, Didot frères, 1866. 3 vols.
- FOURNIER, E.: *Le Théâtre français au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle*. Paris, Laplace, Sanchez, n. d.
- GAILLARD, A.: *Œuvres mêlées*. Paris, 1634.
- GASTÉ, A.: *La Querelle du Cid*. Pièces et pamphlets publiés d'après les originaux avec une introduction. Paris, Welter, 1899.
- GOUJET, L'ABBÉ: *Bibliothèque françoise, ou histoire de la littérature françoise*. Paris, H.-L. Guerin et P.-G. Le Mercier, 1741-1756. 18 vols.
- GUERET, G.: *Le Parnasse réformé et La Guerre des auteurs*. A La Haye, Jean-François Neaulme, 1716.
- JAL, A.: *Dictionnaire critique de biographie et d'histoire*. Errata et Supplément pour tous les dictionnaires historiques d'après des documents authentiques inédits. Paris, Henri Plon, 1867.
- Jardin des Muses* ou se voyent les Fleurs de plusieurs agreables poesies, Recueillies de diuers Auteurs tant anciens que modernes. Paris, Antoine de Sommaville et Augustin Courbé, 1643.
- KÖRTING, H.: *Geschichte des französischen Romans im XVII Jahrhundert*. Leipzig, 1891.
- LACHÈVRE, F.: *Bibliographie des recueils collectifs de poésies publiés de 1597 à 1700*. Paris, Honoré Champion, 1901-1903. 4 vols.
- : *Les Recueils collectifs de poésies libres et satiriques publiés depuis 1600 jusqu' à la mort de Théophile (1626)*. Paris, Honoré Champion, 1914.
- : "Un Admateur de Théophile, critique littéraire", in *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Lanson*. Paris, Hachette, 1922, pp. 191-204.
- LACOUR, LÉOPOLD: *Richelieu dramaturge et ses collaborateurs*. Paris, Ollendorff, n. d.

- LACROIX, P.: *Ballets et mascarades de cour de Henri III à Louis XIV (1581-1652)*, recueillis et publiés d'après les éditions originales. Genève, J. Gay et fils, 1868-1870. 7 vols.
- LANCASTER, HENRY CARRINGTON: *Le Mémoire de Mahelot, Laurent et autres décorateurs de l'hôtel de Bourgogne*. Paris, Honoré Champion, 1920.
- : *The French Tragi-comedy. Its Origin and Development from 1552 to 1628*. Baltimore, J. H. Furst, 1907.
- : *Pierre Du Ryer, Dramatist*. Washington, The Carnegie Institution, 1912.
- : "Seventeenth Century Prosody: hier; fléau; meurtrier; fuir." M. L. N., 1922, vol. 37, pp. 96-101.
- : "Relations between French Plays and Ballets from 1581 to 1650." P. M. L. A., 1916, pp. 379-394.
- LANSON, GUSTAVE: *Esquisse d'une histoire de la tragédie française*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1920.
- (LA VALLIÈRE): *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque du duc de la Vallière*, par Guillaume de Bure. Paris, chez Guillaume de Bure fils aîné, 1783.
- LÉRIS, DE: *Dictionnaire portatif historique et littéraire des théâtres*, contenant l'origine des différens théâtres de Paris, etc. Paris, C.-A. Jombert, 1763.
- LE ROUX, PHILIBERT-JOSEPH: *Dictionnaire comique, satyrique, critique, burlesque, libre et proverbial*. Lyon, 1735.
- L'ESTOILE, PIERRE DE: *Registre-journal d'un curieux pendant le règne de Henri III (1574-1589)*. Paris, Féchoz et Letouzey, 1880.
- : *Mémoires et journal depuis la mort d'Henri III (1589) jusqu'en 1611*. Paris, Féchoz et Letouzey, 1881.
- LINTILHAC, EUGÈNE: *Histoire générale du théâtre en France: La Comédie, dix-septième siècle*. Paris, Ernest Flammarion, s. d.
- LOMÉNIE, LOUIS-HENRI DE: *Mémoires inédits de Louis-Henri de Loménie, Comte de Brienne*. Paris, Ponthieu, 1828.
- LORET, J.: *La Muse historique ou recueil des lettres en vers contenant les nouvelles du temps écrites à son altesse Mademoiselle de Longueville*. Paris, P. Janet, 1857.
- LUCAS, HIPPOLYTE: *Histoire philosophique et littéraire du théâtre français depuis son origine*. Troisième édition. Paris, Ernest Flammarion, s. d.
- MAGNE, E.: *Le Plaisant Abbé de Boisrobert, fondateur de l'Académie française*. Paris, Mercure de France, 1909.
- MAIRET, JEAN DE: *Chryséide et Arimand*. Edition critique par Henry Carrington Lancaster. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1925.
- MAROLLES, MICHEL DE: *Mémoires*. Amsterdam, 1755.
- (MAUPOINT): *Bibliothèque des théâtres*, contenant le catalogue alphabétique des pièces dramatiques, opéra, parodies, et opéra comiques; et le tems de leurs représentations. Paris, Laurent-François Prault, 1733.

- Ménagiana*. Paris, Florentin et Pierre Delaulne, 1693.
- MESNARD, PAUL: *Histoire de l'Académie française depuis sa fondation jusqu'en 1830*. Paris, Charpentier, 1857.
- MOLIÈRE: *Œuvres*. Nouvelle édition revue sur les plus anciennes impressions, par M. Eugène Despois. Paris, Hachette, 1873-1900.
- MOUHY, CHARLES DE FIEUX, CHEVALIER DE: *Abrégé de l'histoire du théâtre françois*. Paris, 1780.
- Muses illustres (Les)*. Par François Colletet, le Fils (editor). Paris, Pierre David et Louis Champhoudry, 1658.
- NICERON, J.-P.: *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres*. Paris, Briasson, 1729-1745.
- Nouvelles Muses (Les)* des Sieurs Godeau, Chapelain, etc. Paris, Robert Bertault, 1633.
- Nouveau Recueil des plus belles poésies*. Paris, 1654.
- OLIVIER, PAUL: *Cent Poètes lyriques, précieux ou burlesques du XVII^e siècle*. Paris, G. Havard fils, 1898.
- PARFAICT, FRÈRES: *Histoire du théâtre françois*. Paris, P.-G. Le Mercier et Saillant, 1745-1749. 15 vols.
- Parnasse Royal (Le)*, où les immortelles actions du très-chrestien et très-victorieux monarque Louis XIII sont publiées par les plus célèbres Esprits de ce temps. Paris, Sebastien Cramoisy, 1635.
- PELLISSON ET D'OLIVET: *Histoire de l'Académie française*. Avec une introduction, des éclaircissements et notes par M. Ch. L. Livet. Paris, 1858. 2 vols.
- PERSON, LÉONICE: *Histoire du Venceslas de Rotrou*, suivie de notes critiques et biographiques. Paris, Cerf, 1882.
- PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, LOUIS: *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française des origines à 1900*. Paris, Colin, 1896-1899. 8 vols.
- Poésies choisies de Messieurs Malleville, Maynard, De L'Estoille, etc.* Paris, Charles de Sercy, 1658.
- POISSON, RAYMOND: *Œuvres*. La Haye, Abraham Trojel, 1680.
- PRUNIÈRES, HENRY: *Le Ballet de Cour en France avant Benserade et Lully*. Paris, Henri Laurens, 1913.
- RACAN, HONORÉ DE: *Œuvres complètes*, nouvelle édition revue et annotée par M. Tenant de Latour. Paris, P. Jannet, 1857. 2 vols.
- Recueil des plus beaux vers de Messieurs de Malherbe, Racan etc.* Paris, Toussaint du Bray, 1627.
- Recueil des plus beaux vers de Messieurs de Malherbe, etc.* 1630. "Reueuz, corrigez et augmentez."
- Recueil des plus beaux vers qui ont esté mis en chant*, 1661.
- Recueil des plus belles pièces des poètes françois, de Villon jusqu'à Benserade*. Paris, la Compagnie des libraires, 1752.
- REYNIER, G.: *Le Roman sentimental avant l'Astrée*. Paris, Colin, 1908.
- ROTRON, JEAN DE: *Œuvres*. Paris, Th. Desoer, 1820. 5 vols.
- ROY, EMILE: *La Vie et les œuvres de Charles Sorel, sieur de Souvigny*. Paris, Hachette, 1891.

- Sacrifice des Muses au Grand Cardinal de Richelieu.* Paris, Sebastien Cramoisy, 1635.
- SAINT-AMANT, SIEUR DE: *Œuvres complètes.* Paris, P. Jannet, 1855, 2 vols.
- SCUDÉRY, GEORGES DE: *L'Amant liberal*, tragi-comédie. Paris, Augustin Courbé, 1638.
- (SOLEINNE): *Bibliothèque dramatique de Monsieur de Soleinne*, par P.-L. Jacob, bibliophile. Paris, Administration de l'Alliance des Arts, 1844.
- SONNET, COURVAL: *Œuvres poétiques, publiées* par Prosper Blanchemain. Paris, Librairie des bibliophiles, 1876.
- SOREL, CHARLES: *La Bibliothèque françoise.* Seconde édition reveüe et augmentée. Paris, 1667.
- STIEFEL, A. L.: *Über die Chronologie von Jean Rotrou's dramatischen Werken.* Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur. Band XVI, erste Hälfte. Berlin, 1894.
- TALLEMANT DES RÉAUX: *Les Historiettes.* Troisième édition par MM. de Monmerque et Paulin Paris. Paris, Techener, 1854-1860. 9 vols.
- TASCHEREAU, M.-J.: *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de P. Corneille.* Troisième édition augmentée. Paris, Didot frères, 1869. 2 vols.
- THOMAS, P.-FÉLIX: *La Philosophie de Gassendi.* Paris, Alcan, 1889.
- THUROT, CHARLES: *De la Prononciation française* depuis le commencement du XVI^e siècle, d'après les témoignages des grammairiens. Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1881. 2 vols.
- VOLTAIRE: *Œuvres complètes.* Nouvelle édition avec notices, préfaces, etc. Garnier Frères, 1877-1883. 52 vols.

VITA

Richard Alexander Parker was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on November 20, 1898. He graduated from the Baltimore City College in 1917 and from the Johns Hopkins University in 1921, where, during the year 1920-1921, he served as Student Assistant in French. For several years, he was Instructor in Modern Languages at the Baltimore City College, and in 1928-1929 Instructor in French in the College for Teachers of the Johns Hopkins University. His graduate work was done at the same university from 1926 to 1929, including the summer session of 1926. The summer of 1927, he spent in Paris at work upon the present thesis and at the same time followed courses at the Alliance Française, and at the Collège de la Guilde, where he received the certificate of proficiency in oral and written French.

This thesis has been prepared under the direction of Professor Henry Carrington Lancaster, whose invaluable advice and un-failing interest and inspiration have made the work possible. The writer would also like to express his gratitude and appreciation to the professors whose high spirit of scholarship and lively interest in their students have made graduate study at Johns Hopkins a pleasure and a profit to him: Professors Gilbert Chinard, David S. Blondheim, Lewis Piaget Shanks, Gustav Gruenbaum, José Robles Pazos, Albert Schinz, and Henry G. Doyle.

